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**In The
Supreme Court of the United States**

RUBEN CAMPA, RENE GONZALEZ,
ANTONIO GUERRERO, GERARDO HERNANDEZ,
and LUIS MEDINA,

Petitioners,

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Respondent.

**On Petition For A Writ Of Certiorari
To The United States Court Of Appeals
For The Eleventh Circuit**

**BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE OF DR. NELSON P.
VALDÉS, DR. GUILLERMO GRENIER,
DR. FÉLIX MASUD-PILOTO, DR. JOSÉ A. COBAS,
DR. LOURDES ARGUELLES, DR. RUBÉN G.
RUMBAUT, AND DR. LOUIS PÉREZ
IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS**

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INTEREST OF *AMICI*

Amici are a group of United States social scientists with a significant accumulation of knowledge and publications related to the history, culture, society, and politics of Cuba and the Cuban-American community in the United States.¹

- Dr. Nelson P. Valdés is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of New Mexico. He has written extensively about the politics of the Cuban Revolution.
- Dr. Guillermo Grenier is a Professor of Sociology at Florida International University. He has written extensively on the exile Cuban community in Miami.
- Dr. José A. Cobas is a Professor of Sociology at Arizona State University. He has written extensively on the political sociology of race relations in the United States, with a focus on Latino immigrant communities.
- Dr. Félix Masud-Piloto is a Professor of History at DePaul University. He is a Cuban-born United States citizen who has written

¹ Pursuant to Rule 37.6, *amici curiae* certify that no counsel for a party authored this brief in whole or in part. This brief was written by counsel for *amici*. No person or entity other than *amici* and their counsel made any monetary contribution to the preparation or submission of this brief. Pursuant to Rule 37.2(a), the parties have consented to the filing of the brief of *amici* and their letters of consent accompany this brief. The parties were notified ten days prior to the due date of this brief of the intention to file.

extensively on the Cuban émigré community in Florida.

- Dr. Lourdes Arguelles is a Professor at the School of Educational Studies and in the Department of Cultural Studies at Claremont Graduate University. She has worked extensively with Latino immigrant enclave communities.
- Dr. Rubén G. Rumbaut is a Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Irvine. His extensive research has focused on the comparative study of immigrant and refugee communities in the United States.
- Dr. Louis Pérez is a Professor of History at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. He has written extensively on the subject of Cuban history.²

Amici take no position on the guilt or innocence of the petitioners. Although *amici* represent a wide range of perspectives and opinions, *amici* agree that a thoughtful examination of the sociological aspects of ethnicity that impact whether venue should have been changed in this case will serve the public interest. *Amici* believe that the pervasive social influence

² More complete biographies of *amici* are provided in the Appendix.

of the Miami-Dade Cuban-American ethnic enclave created an insurmountable juror bias in this matter.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The Cuban-American émigré community has created a powerful ethnic enclave in Miami-Dade County that is in essence an autonomous "city-state." The core thrust of the city-state is its anti-Castro ideology. Non-Cuban members of the "city-state" are influenced by extensive Cuban-American social, economic, and political pressure and by the exile ideology of the Cuban émigrés. As a consequence, anti-Castro and anti-Cuban beliefs pervade Miami-Dade County, profoundly shaping the media and justice system. Dissenters face political and economic consequences and possible violence. The petitioners, because they were agents of the Castro Cuban government, could not have had a fair trial in Miami-Dade County from jurors who would fear the stigma of a not guilty verdict. Accordingly, their trials should have been moved to a different venue.

ARGUMENT

I. THE PERVASIVE ETHNIC ENCLAVE OF THE CUBAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF MIAMI-DADE COUNTY HAS A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY INCLUDING NON-CUBANS, CREATING WHAT AMOUNTS TO AN INDEPENDENT "CITY-STATE" THAT IS DRIVEN BY ITS ANTI-CASTRO IDEOLOGY.

Cubans constitute the largest population in Miami-Dade County. This population has transformed Miami-Dade County into a sort of autonomous city-state with its own economic and political power structure and its own political logic and ideology dominated by the anti-Castro, Cuban-American exile community. A city-state, as opposed to an ethnic enclave, sets itself apart and, when necessary, in counter-position to the dominant society. Those who rule in the city-state do not see themselves as integrated, absorbed or assimilated by the larger nation-state. The city-state associates with the dominant society only when it is useful to do so. The city-state will violate or dismiss the rules and procedures of the larger society unless it serves its objectives to follow them.

Jorge Mas Canosa, known as the most influential political leader of the Cuban-American ethnic enclave in Miami-Dade, expressed that alienation from the United States when he told the Miami Herald, "I am a misunderstood man. I have never assimilated. I never intended to. *I am a Cuban first. I live here only*

as an extension of Cuba.”³ (Emphasis added). His political organization and lobby, the Fundación Nacional Cubana Americana, revealed its real function in its name.⁴ In the ideology of exile, the Cuban-Americans inside the ethnic enclave constitute a nation abroad, a nation occupying a territorial base within the United States – Miami-Dade – serving the ultimate purpose of re-conquering Cuba. One author described this phenomenon as an “exile government-in-waiting.”⁵ When the Cuban-American National Foundation opened offices in Washington, D.C. in 2001, Jorge Mas Canosa described the building as “the embassy of Free Cuba.”⁶

By 1980 the anti-Castro elite who left Cuba and became exiles in the United States had developed the political strategy of using the “enclave” to project United States policy in Latin America. This strategy has made possible this semi-autonomous city-state within the United States. “An ethnic enclave is a strong ethnic community that is organized around a highly differentiated range of enterprises and institutions,

³ Christopher Marquis, *Mas Canosa Dead at 58*, MIAMI HERALD, Nov. 24, 1997.

⁴ Literally translated, the name is “Cuban-American National Foundation.”

⁵ ANN LOUISE BARDACH, *CUBA CONFIDENTIAL: LOVE AND VENGEANCE IN MIAMI AND HAVANA* 126 (Random House 2002).

⁶ Rui Ferreira, *La Fundación abre su ‘embajada’ en Washington*, NUEVO HERALD, Feb. 7, 2001.

which serve, and profit from, the community.”⁷ On matters of foreign policy regarding Cuba, the Miami-Dade city-state has enjoyed the equivalent of power sharing with the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government. Consequently, the overall power of the Cuban-American enclave resembles the political, economic, social and cultural resources of what is effectively a separate nation-state that shapes, influences and ultimately controls public opinion within it. The United States government “can encourage the birth and growth of an ethnic interest group and incorporate it into the formal foreign policy apparatus.”⁸ And, as we argue below, dissent on matters related to Cuba is not tolerated and is often met with violence.

A. The Large, Unified Cuban-American Community Influences Nearly Every Aspect of Life in Miami-Dade County.

According to the 1990 Census, Cubans residing in the Miami-Dade area accounted for 53% of the total U.S. Cuban population (up from 50% in 1980). Ten years later, the Miami Cubans represented 65% of all Cuban-Americans. Cubans have consistently increased in the Miami-Dade area and “have become

⁷ Declaration of Professor Lisandro Pérez, at 5. *Amici App.* at 28a-29a.

⁸ PATRICK JUDE HANEY & WALT VANDERBUSH, *THE CUBAN EMBARGO: THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY* 48 (University of Pittsburgh Press 2005).

increasingly concentrated in South Florida.”⁹ Seventy-eight percent of all Cubans in Florida live in Dade County.

It is important to keep in mind that persons of Cuban birth or descent represent the largest single racial/ethnic/national origin group in Miami-Dade County. According to the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, in the county there are more persons of Cuban birth or descent (650,600) than there are white non-Hispanics (465,770), more than African-Americans (427,140), and more than all the other Hispanic nationality groups combined (641,130). Two of every seven people in Greater Miami is a Cuban. It is not just one more immigrant group in the city’s race/ethnic mosaic. It is the largest group, period, among immigrants or nonimmigrants alike.¹⁰

The sheer numbers of a large, unified community can have an enormous impact on the members of a jury and on the mass media. The editor of the Miami Herald, David Lawrence, acknowledged this impact when he wrote that reporters at the Miami Herald during the Elián González case “were subtly or overtly intimidated by the overwhelming consensus

⁹ Kevin E. McHugh, Ines M. Miyares, & Emily H. Skop, *The Magnetism of Miami: Segmented Paths in Cuban Migration*, THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW, Vol. 87, No. 4, October 1997, at 508.

¹⁰ Declaration of Professor Lisandro Pérez, at 3 *Amici App.* at 27a-28a.

among Miami's estimated eight hundred thousand Cuban-Americans. . . ."¹¹

The Cuban-American presence in Miami-Dade is not just the sum total of over half a million people. Society is more complicated than that. Miami-Dade is glued together by highly politicized Cuban-American social networks. Non-Cubans, as described below, are part of that array of networks: from marriage to financial transactions to shared urban spaces to favorite restaurants to shared attitudes about the Cuban government. This creates social density that is the tapestry of social relations shaping and guiding thought and behavior; it is a community connected by personal ties, shared histories, interests and social institutions and with strong emotional feelings about certain political themes. The academic literature recognizes the unique character of Miami-Dade.¹²

Miami has the highest proportion of foreign born population of the major Metropolitan areas in the United States. Their impact has been so dramatic that it is doubtful that there is another urban area in the United States in which the theme of immigration

¹¹ Joseph Contreras, *Covering Elian in Print: How Did the Miami Media Do?*, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS/ POLITICS, Fall 2000, Vol. 5, No. 4, at 123-127.

¹² ALEJANDRO PORTES & ALEX STEPICK, *CITY ON THE EDGE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF MIAMI* (University of California Press 1993).

has such a major presence in both private conversation and public discourse.¹³

By 1980, Cuban-Americans in Miami had become a "pivotal local power" in the economy, politics and government.¹⁴ Anglo economic hegemony progressively declined.¹⁵ Moreover, the influence of Cubans in Miami-Dade extends to Cuban-Americans throughout the nation.

"[T]he Cuban settlement system [in the U.S.] should be viewed as an ethnic archipelago, a network of urban clusters anchored by Miami. The archipelago metaphor emphasizes ethnic concentrations connected by flows of information and people rather than functioning as isolated islands."¹⁶ (Emphasis added).

Professor Lisandro Pérez has described the importance of the Cuban influence in Miami-Dade:

¹³ GUILLERMO GRENIER & ALEX STEPICK, *MIAMI NOW!: IMMIGRATION, ETHNICITY, AND SOCIAL CHANGE 3* (University Press of Florida 1992).

¹⁴ *Id.* at 10.

¹⁵ In Miami-Dade, in 2002, Hispanic ownership of "employer firms" represented 39% of the total (for the U.S. it was 4%). *An Overview of the Socio-Economic Condition of Miami-Dade County, Social and Economic Development*, Council Miami-Dade County Department of Planning and Zoning Planning Research Section, May 2007, at 61.

¹⁶ Kevin E. McHugh, Ines M. Miyares, & Emily H. Skop, *The Magnetism of Miami: Segmented Paths in Cuban Migration*, *THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW*, Vol. 87, No. 4, Oct. 1997, at 504-519.

In social, political, and economic terms Cubans exert an influence in Miami-Dade County that extends well beyond the Cuban community itself. Those who arrived from Cuba in the 1960s established the bases of that community. They were disproportionately drawn from the upper sectors of Cuban society. Many were professionals or entrepreneurs and had university degrees. A significant proportion had previous business experience, and more than a few had contacts with U.S. companies that had done business with Cuba before the revolution. Furthermore, their migration was facilitated by the U.S. government, which gave them entry as refugees and provided them with economic assistance.¹⁷

B. The Exile Ideology of the Cuban-American Enclave Extends To All Members of the Community, Including Non-Cubans.

The first Cuban exiles and émigrés left Cuba because they lost economic resources, political power and social standing under Cuba's new government. They had been well-off, so coming to the United States represented a significant defeat. However, those émigrés "entered the United States through

¹⁷ Declaration of Professor Lisandro Pérez, at 4. *Amici* App. at 28a.

political channels" that created long-term consequences and shaped their long-term identity.¹⁸ These first Cuban émigrés enjoyed exceptional and preferential entry treatment that has contributed to a generalized sense within the enclave that this population is above American law on all matters involving Cuba. This preferential political and economic treatment allowed the early exiles to reconstitute the economic and political power they had in Cuba.¹⁹ The earlier waves of exiles thus became the dominant sector of the Miami-Dade "ethnic enclave economy."

In a dominant enclave economy, shared ethnicity and shared political philosophy matters greatly. If one does not have the proper ethnicity in the economy of an ethnic enclave, one is at a significant economic disadvantage. This phenomenon has been called acculturation in reverse.²⁰ For example, Eduardo Padrón, a Cuban-American and former president of Miami-Dade Community College, has acknowledged that non-Spanish speakers would feel intimidated

¹⁸ Carlos A. Forment, *Political Practice and the Rise of an Ethnic Enclave: Cuban American Case, 1959-1979*, THEORY AND PRACTICE, No. 18, 1989, at 50.

¹⁹ Cuban-Americans received over one billion dollars to settle once they were in the U.S., plus automatic residency status. Tomas D. Boswell, *A Demographic Profile of Cuban Americans*, Cuban-American National Council, 1994, at 31.

²⁰ Richard Alba & Victor Nee, *Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration*, INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REVIEW, Vol. 31, No. 4. Winter 1997, at 826-874.

when seeking employment in the Miami-Dade community.²¹ In such circumstance it is much easier to adopt the dominant political values of the Cuban-American enclave than to challenge them. The only other viable option is leaving the city and county.²²

C. The Exile Ideology Creates an Unreasonable Anti-Castro Bias That Influences the Entire Miami-Dade Community, Including Prospective Jurors.

Cuban-American power in Miami-Dade began in 1959, when the city of Miami began coordinating and carrying out anti-Cuban government activities promoted by the United States government, particularly its intelligence services.²³ One author has described Miami as "the intrigue capital of the hemisphere."²⁴

²¹ William Booth, *America's Racial and Ethnic Divides: A White Migration North From Miami*, WASHINGTON POST, Nov. 11, 1998, at A1.

²² From 1960-1990 the "non-Hispanic White" population dropped from 80% to 30%. William Booth, *America's Racial and Ethnic Divides: A White Migration North From Miami*, WASHINGTON POST, Nov. 11, 1998, at A1.

²³ Carlos A. Forment, *Political Practice and the Rise of an Ethnic Enclave: Cuban American Case, 1959-1979*, THEORY AND PRACTICE, No. 18, 1989, at 47-81; Lourdes Arguelles, *Cuban Miami: the Roots, Development, and Everyday Life on an Émigré Enclave in the U.S. National Security State*, CONTEMPORARY MARXISM, Summer, 1982, at 27-43.

²⁴ JOEL GARREAU, *THE NINE NATIONS OF AMERICA* 174 (Avon Books 1981).

The highly political and violent origins of the Cuban-American elite in Miami should not be dismissed.²⁵ An anti-Castro, clandestine, coercive and violent political culture and practice can be traced to those years. From a political standpoint, no other city in the United States could be so biased against admitted pro-Castro Cuban defendants or so apt to turn to violence against dissenters.

Although the political aspect of the exile ideology is central in predisposing the population of Miami-Dade, what we wish to stress is the emotional, irrational and intolerant behavior components that have important consequences on the issue of community prejudice and bias. Professor Lisandro Pérez notes:

The goal of the Cuban exile is the overthrow of Fidel Castro, and this is to be accomplished through hostility and isolation. Energizing that struggle is the highly emotional nature of the exile ideology. The least favorable side of emotionalism and irrationality is intolerance to views that do not conform to the predominant "exile" ideology of an uncompromising hostility towards the Cuban government. Those inside or outside the community who voice views that are favorable or even "soft" or conciliatory with respect to Castro are usually subject to

²⁵ The same author wrote that "[s]ecrecy punctuated by tall tales envelopes aspect after aspect of Miami. A reporter attempting to get a description of the internal workings of the place is tempted to throw up his hands." *Id.* at 174.

criticism and scorn, their position belittled and their motives questioned. Any dissent in Miami is especially difficult. The Cubans' pervasive influence in Miami means that great pressures can be brought to bear on the dissenting individual or group.²⁶

This exile ideology is pervasive and deeply ingrained. For example, in a recent survey, Cuban-American respondents were asked whether all points of view were heard in Miami. Approximately 60% of respondents expressed a desire to hear an even stronger anti-Castro sentiment.²⁷

Few escape from the exile community's pressure. For example, in 1993, a City of Miami commissioner proposed that anyone who "supported Fidel Castro" should be legally barred from freely expressing such views.²⁸ The Christian Science Monitor on April 21, 2000, ran a story entitled "In Miami, Free Speech is Selective." The author, Warren Richey, reported that "Critics say those who disagree with the hard-line

²⁶ Declaration of Professor Lisandro Pérez, at 8. *Amici App.* at 32a.

²⁷ Guillermo Grenier, *The Creation and Maintenance of the Cuban American 'Exile Ideology': Evidence from the FIU Cuba*, JOURNAL OF AMERICAN ETHNIC HISTORY, Winter/Spring 2006, at 219.

²⁸ *A Distasteful Proposal: Freedom of Expression*, MIAMI TIMES, March 25, 1993, at 4A.

opinions of Cuban-exile leaders routinely face intimidation, threats of violence, or outright censorship."²⁹

The printed media in Miami-Dade has a consistent history of bias on matters related to the government of Cuba or anyone who identifies with, supports or defends anything that appears to be pro-Cuban government. This is even more pronounced on the Miami-Dade radio stations that discussed this case pre-trial.³⁰

Anything from Cuba is considered illegitimate in the exile ideology. The changes in the editorial policy of the Miami Herald make this clear. In 1992, the Miami Herald was an independently-minded publication. Powerful exile political organizations disagreed with its editorial line, which included a more inclusive attitude toward Cuba. Vandalism against the paper became a common occurrence. The New York Times reported on the campaign of vandalism and threats against the Miami Herald after Mas Canosa's exile organization questioned "the newspaper's devotion to the cause and treated any skepticism of its

²⁹ Warren Richey, *In Miami, Free Speech Is Selective*, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, April 21, 2000.

³⁰ *Dangerous Dialogue: Attacks on Freedom of Expression in Miami's Cuban Exile Community*, Americas Watch: The Fund for Free Expression, Vol. 4, No. 7, August 1992, at 16-20.

own policies and activities as a slur against all Cuban-Americans."³¹ As another author noted:

Anywhere else, Mas Canosa's remarks might have been ignored. In the darker recesses of Miami's exile community; however, his words were clearly a call to arms. Within days Herald publisher David Lawrence, Jr., and two top editors received death threats. Anonymous callers phoned in bomb threats and Herald vending machines were jammed with gum and smeared with feces. Mas Canosa's Cuban American National Foundation quickly denied responsibility and condemned the hijinks, but Mas's words were highly inflammatory in a city where public red-baiting has served as a prelude to bombings and, in past years, murder.³²

One Miami Herald editorial said of the leader of the Cuban-American National Foundation, "you are a powerful person, here and in Washington, and you would like to hurt us, destroy us, if you could."³³ The newspaper succumbed to the intimidation and a few years later the views of the formerly independent newspaper had shifted dramatically to the exile ideology of the Cuban-American enclave.

³¹ Larry Rother, *When a City Newspaper Is the Enemy*, NEW YORK TIMES, March 19, 1992, at A16.

³² Anne Marie O'Connor, *Trying To Set the Agenda in Miami*, COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW, May/June 1992.

³³ Larry Rother, *When A City Newspaper Is the Enemy*, NEW YORK TIMES, March 19, 1992, at A16.

Professor Lisandro Pérez states it well, that pre-trial media coverage was biased and unfavorable to the accused in the case.³⁴ Moreover, shortly before jury selection, the political "battle" to retain Elián González was fought in part through the use of the mass media in south Florida.³⁵ The media's response to that event is indicative of how the media responds to anything or anyone pro-Cuban government. The Miami Herald took the side of the exiles.³⁶ The editors of the Miami Herald have acknowledged that they were intimidated by the community's feelings. One editor noted that "trying to convince south Florida to be historically accurate, or principled, is tantamount to spitting into the wind."³⁷

Similarly, the Spanish language AM frequency radio stations in the community had been historically incendiary. Before and during the trial in this case, neither the mass media, nor the general public had been able to enjoy free speech on matters involving Cuba in Miami-Dade. A First Amendment rights group in Miami went on record stating that in Miami

³⁴ Declaration of Professor Lisandro Pérez, at 3. *Amici App.* at 27a.

³⁵ Susan Candiotti, *Elian Photo Op: Where TV News Met Street-Corner Politics*, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS/POLITICS, Fall 2000, Vol. 5, No. 4, at 118-122.

³⁶ Joseph Contreras, *Covering Elian in Print: How Did the Miami Media Do?*, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS/POLITICS, Fall 2000, Vol. 5, No. 4, at 123-127.

³⁷ Editorial, MIAMI HERALD, Oct. 7, 1997.

"you can say whatever you want as long as it is what [exile leaders] want to hear."³⁸

D. The Anti-Castro Cuban-American City-State Has Had Extraordinary Success.

In one generation, four Cuban-Americans were elected to Congress and Cuban-Americans have held high office in Florida state politics and been instrumental in shaping United States foreign policy towards Cuba.³⁹ Also, Cuban-Americans have been dominant in the police department, county commissions, school boards and the Miami Mayor's Office.⁴⁰ Members of the Cuban-American community have been named United States Attorney and to the local bench, including the state supreme court.⁴¹

There are numerous reasons for that success. First, the economic ethnic enclave provides funding for elections. Cuban-American businessmen, professionals, and workers are mobilized and they form a cohesive bloc, united by anti-Castro politics. Second, historically, the Cuban-Americans had access to federal funding. In a

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ Dario Moreno, *Exile Political Power: Cubans in the United States Political System*, <http://metropolitan.fiu.edu/downloads/exile%20political%20power.doc>.

⁴⁰ Ellen Sugarman, *A Miami Vision of Our Future?*, INSIGHT ON THE NEWS, Sept. 28, 1998.

⁴¹ *Cuban American Named Florida Supreme Court Justice*, MIAMI HERALD, Jan. 3, 2009.

sense, money flows in both directions, from the enclave to the politicians and in reverse as well.⁴²

The anti-Castro sentiment shared by the United States government and the Cuban-American community has cemented the enclave's influence:

Given encouragement from Washington, it is little wonder that local Hispanic politicians frequently seize opportunities to pledge support for anti-Communist foreign policies and to demonstrate their own fervor. During the sixteen-month period preceding May 1983, the Miami City Commission passed at least twenty-eight formal resolutions, ordinances, and motions dealing with U.S. foreign policy, most of which were strictly symbolic expressions of Latin anti-Communism. The Hialeah City Commission severed its Sister City association with Managua, Nicaragua, and the City of Sweetwater solemnly declared Fidel Castro *persona non grata*.⁴³

⁴² Patrick J. Haney & Walt Vanderbush, *The Role of Ethnic Interest Groups in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Case of The Cuban American National Foundation*, INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY 2nd ser. 43, 1999, at 341-361; Kevin Sack, *Politics: Florida, with a Major Primary Nearing, Little Havana Is Beginning to Look a Lot Like a Giant*, NEW YORK TIMES, March 9, 1996; Evan Thomas & Mark Hosenball, *Cubans At the Wheel*, NEWSWEEK, Dec. 11, 2000; Laura Wides-Muñoz, *Candidates Work Harder for Cuban Vote*, NEW YORK TIMES, Jan. 25, 2008.

⁴³ Patrick J. Haney & Walt Vanderbush, *The Role of Ethnic Interest Groups in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Case of the Cuban American National Foundation*, INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY 2nd ser. 43, 1999, at 361.

Another scholar of the Cuban-American enclave notes:

Many Cuban-Americans see the Cuban issue as a litmus test for evaluating candidates for local office. "If you want to run for dog catcher," said a Cuban-American patrol at a sidewalk coffee stand, "you'd better take a hard-line position towards Cuba or you'll never get elected." While it may not be that extreme, it is true that Miami politics dances to a Cuban beat.⁴⁴

What these examples demonstrate is the extent and degree to which the Cuban-American political enclave can dictate political agendas and decisions; this is the case in Miami, Hialeah, West Miami, Sweetwater and Coral Gables.⁴⁵ Given the intensity of the exile experience, the Cuban-American community has produced a society in a near-constant state of mass mobilization fueled by a widespread war mentality.⁴⁶ "Little Havana is no mere immigrant

⁴⁴ Chris Girard & Guillermo Grenier, *Insulating an Ideology: The Enclave Effect on South Florida's Cuban Americans*, *HISPANIC JOURNAL OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES*, Vol. 30, No. 4, Nov. 2008, at 317.

⁴⁵ Mark F. Peterson & Jaime Roquebert, *Success Patterns of Cuban-American Enterprises: Implications for Entrepreneurial Communities*, *HUMAN RELATIONS*, Vol. 46, No. 8, 1993, at 921-937.

⁴⁶ Sandra Dalis Alvarez, *The Effects on an Ethnic Enclave as a Social Movement* (1994) (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Central Missouri University) (on file with Central Missouri University).

neighborhood, not even a lively business hub, but a moral community with its own distinct outlook on the world."⁴⁷ Sociologically, a moral community compels and coerces, in subtle and not-so-subtle ways.

If from the outside the exile's political discourse appeared as raving intolerance, from the inside it helped define who was and was not a true member of the community. To be a Miami Cuban, it does not suffice to have escaped from the island; one must also espouse points of view repeated ceaselessly by editorialists in Miami's Spanish radio and press – the same voices that take care of denouncing any member of the community who strays too far from the fold.⁴⁸

The exile ideology has found numerous venues for expression besides explicit political speeches and

⁴⁷ Alejandro Portes & Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge*, in THE CUBA READER: HISTORY, CULTURE, POLITICS 583 (Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr & Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, eds., Duke University Press 2003). The concept of a *moral community* originates with Emile Durkheim and does not mean religious or ethical beliefs; rather Durkheim stresses the functional importance of *shared values* on a particular issue, shaping behavior and producing a high degree of social integration. EMILE DURKHEIM, THE SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD (New York Free Press 1938) (1895).

⁴⁸ Alejandro Portes & Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge*, in THE CUBA READER: HISTORY, CULTURE, POLITICS 583 (Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr & Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, eds., Duke University Press 2003).

articles. It can be found in short stories, novels, books, films, plays, soap operas, documentaries and comic books. The exile ideology is a political and economic industry consciously shaping values and attitudes.⁴⁹ A 1981 study of university undergraduates in Florida used the Cuban government as a negative referent. The study found that "all Cuban American students may use their opposition to Castro's Cuba less as a way of defining themselves than as a way of indicating to others their solidarity with the mainstream of the exile community."⁵⁰ It was clear to the undergraduates that voicing the dominant ideology meant social acceptance as well as rewards.⁵¹

⁴⁹ John D. Ribo, *A Nation Built On Nothing: Cuban American Subjectivities in Revolt*, M.A. (2007) (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) (on file with University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill); Stacey Van Dahm, *Nationalism and Narratives of Subjectivity in the Cold War Imagery* (2007) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California-Santa Barbara) (on file with University of California-Santa Barbara).

⁵⁰ Charles Carver, *Havana Daydreaming: A Study of Self-Consciousness and the Negative Reference of Groups Among Cuban-Americans*, JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, Vol. 40, No. 3, March 1981, at 545-552.

⁵¹ Chris Girard & Guillermo Grenier, *Insulating an Ideology: The Enclave Effect on South Florida's Cuban Americans*, HISPANIC JOURNAL OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES, Vol. 30, No. 4, Nov. 2008, at 530-543.

II. GIVEN THE PERVASIVE INFLUENCE OF THE CUBAN-AMERICAN EXILE IDEOLOGY IN MIAMI-DADE COUNTY, THE JURY COULD NOT HAVE OVERCOME THE PRESSURES NECESSARY FOR THESE DEFENDANTS, WHO WERE AGENTS OF THE CASTRO GOVERNMENT, TO HAVE HAD A FAIR TRIAL.

The academic literature has shown that collective violence can be a form of social control with the specific purpose of forcing others to conform. The explicit social control can take many forms: taunts, insults, criticism, protests, vandalism, and arson, damage to property, physical assaults and even murder.⁵² Miami's "volatile politics" has shown a predisposition to utilize such modes of social control, when deemed politically necessary. This has set the Miami-Dade enclave apart in its "modes of participation from those usually described for urban communities elsewhere."⁵³ Professor Lisandro Pérez writes:

Any dissent in Miami is especially difficult. The Cubans' pervasive influence in Miami means that great pressures can be brought to bear on the dissenting individual or group. Such pressures can be economic, political, or

⁵² Roberta Senechal de la Roche, *Collective Violence as Social Control*, SOCIOLOGICAL FORUM, Vol. 11, No. 1, March 1996, at 97-128.

⁵³ Christopher L. Warren, John F. Stack, Jr., & John G. Corbett, *Minority Mobilization in an International City: Rivalry and Conflict in Miami*, PS, Summer 1986, at 626.

social, but they have also involved the threat of violence. *There is a long history of threats, bomb scares, actual bombings, and even murders directed at persons who have dissented from the predominant anti-Castro positions or have demonstrated a perceived "softness" toward the regime.*⁵⁴ (Emphasis added).

The 1994 coordinator of the human rights group Americas Watch was surprised to discover that not a single agency was willing to prosecute threats and intimidation carried out by Cuban exiles in Miami. He said, "No one at the local, state or federal level has spoken out against the violence or threats against moderates."⁵⁵

It would be reasonable to expect that since political disputes in the past have led to violence and intimidation, a case charging people with espionage and the downing of Miami-based airplanes would have produced major violent confrontations if the appellants had been found not guilty. The jurors would have been tagged "traitors" – the characterization applied to anyone who deviates from what the Miami political enclave demands. Intimidation has been justified by arguing that someone has not served Cuban-American political interests.

⁵⁴ Professor Lisandro Pérez declaration, at 8-9. *Amici App.* at 32a.

⁵⁵ ANN LOUISE BARDACH, *CUBA CONFIDENTIAL: LOVE AND VENGEANCE IN MIAMI AND HAVANA* 116 (Random House 2002).

The political culture of the exiles is based on interpretations of social and political reality "dominated by the belief that one's opponent is treacherous. Political differences then turn into charges of betrayal. If a national or political aim is not attained, there is only [one] possible reason: treason or betrayal."⁵⁶

In fact, from the very start, the *exilio histórico* considered that the United States government had betrayed the Cuban-American cause on numerous occasions. Just last December 19, 2008, a leading Cuban exile leader, Jose Ignacio Rasco, stated in an interview, "La traición de Estados Unidos nos hizo mucho daño. Aún sufrimos las consecuencias." ["United States treason has done us much harm. We are still suffering the consequences."]⁵⁷ The United States government, the exile ideology narrative goes, cannot be trusted. It is that fact that should be considered in assessing the profound and widespread influence of the Cuban-American enclave in Miami-Dade. The petitioners' case, consequently, fits into that very Cuban exile political narrative: The agents of the Castro government are spies, traitors within.

⁵⁶ Nelson P. Valdés, *Cuban Political Culture: Between Betrayal and Death*, in *CUBA IN TRANSITION: CRISIS AND TRANSFORMATION* 217 (Sandor Halebsky & John M. Kirk, eds., Westview Press 1992).

⁵⁷ José Ignacio Rasco interview, <http://www.libertaddigital.com/opinion/victor-llano/fundador-de-la-democracia-cristiana-cubana-11919/>

In that framework, anyone who defends them is also a traitor. The jury, consequently, had to find against the “traitors” or be considered “traitors” themselves. The classification of treachery has serious consequences anywhere, but in Miami-Dade even more so. Not surprisingly, the traitor charge was attached to Janet Reno, the U.S. attorney general at the time. The Cuban-American organization Brothers to the Rescue opposed hearing any evidence provided by the Cuban government on matters related to exile terrorism; they claimed this was a move by the U.S. Attorney General to do something similar to the return of Elián González to Cuba.⁵⁸ Psychology Professor Gary Patrick Moran, from Florida International University, has exposed a profound existing bias in Miami against people associated with the Cuban government. Moreover, a legal psychologist, Kendra H. Brennan (an authority on questionnaires and trial proceedings), noted that Moran’s survey “accurately reflects profound existing bias against those associated with the Cuban government in Miami-Dade County.”⁵⁹

⁵⁸ On June 26, 2001, the new United States Attorney General met with leading figures of the Cuban-American enclave, including José Basulto. The following month, July 12, the Cuban-American National Foundation held a party to honor the FBI members involved in the case, including the head of the FBI in the Cuba-American enclave, Hector Pesquera.

⁵⁹ *United States v. Campa*, 459 F.3d 1121, 1141-42 (11th Cir. 2006) (en banc), *petition for cert. filed* (U.S. Jan. 30, 2009) (No. 08-897).

At the time of the trial in this case, the sentiment in Miami-Dade was becoming increasingly in favor of direct United States military action to overthrow the Cuban government. As Dr. Brennan noted, "there is an attitude of a state of war between the local Cuban community against Cuba" which had "spilled over into the rest of the community" and had a "substantial impact on the rest of the Miami-Dade community."⁶⁰ In fact, the time period between the defendants' arrest and jury deliberations coincided with the events surrounding Elián González which included mob-like conduct by those who purported to speak on behalf of all Cuban-Americans in Miami.

The empirical and anecdotal evidence of the conditions producing community bias and prejudice against the defendants in this matter is clear. The jurors as members of the community could not escape such influence. One unfriendly defense witness, José Basulto, explicitly stated that *defense counsel* was doing the work of Cuban intelligence.⁶¹ In other words, the effort of the defendants' attorneys was construed as aiding and abetting the Cuban government and supporting communism. Such charges could negatively affect the jury as well as the defense counsel. On December 18, 2001, for example, Miami

⁶⁰ *United States v. Campa*, 419 F.3d 1219, 1256 (11th Cir. 2005), *rehearing en banc* granted, *opinion vacated by* 429 F.3d 1011 (2005) and *aff'd on rehearing en banc*, 459 F.3d 1121 (2006), *petition for cert. filed* (U.S. Jan. 30, 2009) (08-897).

⁶¹ *Id.* at 1240.

exile radio stations urged listeners to demonstrate at the home of Joaquin Mendez, one of the public defenders in the case.

Finally, *amici* adopt as its own the conclusion Professor Lisandro Pérez expressed in his testimony on October 19, 2002:

After having laid out the context and climate to the process of jury selection in this case, I will restate my two basic points, now evident: 1) in this case, pre-trial media coverage is an insufficient indicator of the depth of the community's pre-trial bias against the defendants; 2) selecting a non-Cuban jury does not counter that bias . . . Given the sociological forces unique to Miami-Dade, described above, I repeat my conclusion here: the possibility of selecting twelve citizens of Miami-Dade County who can be impartial in a case involving acknowledged agents of the Cuban government is virtually zero.⁶²

⁶² Professor Lisandro Pérez declaration, at 11-13. *Amici* App. at 35a-37a.

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, the petition for a writ of certiorari should be granted.

Respectfully submitted,

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1973-1976 History Instructor, University of New Orleans.
1976-1980 Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of New Mexico.
1980-1991 Associate Professor of Sociology, University of New Mexico.
1991-2008 Full Professor of Sociology, University of New Mexico.
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2003-2004 Executive Director, Fundación Amistad, Duke University.

2003-2004 Visiting Professor, Department of Sociology, Duke University.

2003-2004 Assistant to the Vice Provost for International Affairs, Duke University.

Administrative Experience (Since 1998 -)

1999- Director, Program of Academic Research on Cuba, Latin American and Iberian Institute, University of New Mexico.

2003-2004 Executive Director, Fundación Amistad, Duke University

Books Authored

The Cuban Revolution: A Research Study Guide, UNM Press, 1971 (jointly with Edwin Lieuwen).

Cuba, Socialismo Democrático o Burocratismo Colectivista?, Bogotá: Editorial Tercer Mundo. 1973.

Books Edited

Che: The Selected Works of Ernesto Guevara, MIT Press, 1969.

Revolutionary Struggle: The Selected Works of Fidel Castro, MIT Press, 1970.

Cuba in Revolution, Anchor Books, 1972.

Recent Chapters in Books (1998-)

"Los estudios cubanos en el exterior," in Rafael Hernández, editor, *Las Ciencias Sociales y los Estudios sobre Cuba*, Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1999, chapter 4.

"The Political Economy of the Internet in Cuba" in *ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF THE CUBAN ECONOMY (ASCE) PROCEEDINGS*, Vol. 9, Miami: Florida International University, 2000, pp. 141-154 (with Prof. Mario A. Rivera, Department of Public Administration, UNM).

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"Hay posibilidades de insertarnos en Internet?," Fermín Romero Alfau, ed. *Clic - Internet*, Havana: Editorial Pablo de la Torriente, 2003, pp. 265-281.

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"Cuba y la tecnología de la información," *LA JIRIBILLA* (La Habana), August 6, 2003.

"Interneting": or Studying with the Other – Portal of the Americas – Organization of American Status (Washington, DC), December 2005.

"Interneteando": o estudiando con el exterior – Portal de las Américas – Organización de Estados Americanos (Washington, DC) – Diciembre 2005

"Internetando" ou estudando com o exterior - Portal Educacional das Americas, Organizacao dos Estados Americanos, Dezembro 2005.

"El contenido revolucionario y político de la autoridad carismática de Fidel Castro," *TEMAS* (Havana), 2008, No. 55, 4-17.

Other Professional Activities (1998 -)

Discussant, United Nations, Economic Commission on Latin America, Seminar on the Economic Situation and Recent Social Policies in Cuba, Mexico City, December 2, 2003. Invited by Rebeca Grynszpan, director of ECLAC.

Consultant on Cuba, MSN-NBC, 2003-2004.

2005-2008: Member of the Board of Directors of the National Hispanic Cultural Center (NHCC). Appointed by the Governor of the state of New Mexico. I will serve in that capacity for the next 4 years.

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SELECTED PUBLICATIONS IN DISCIPLINE

BOOKS

- 2009 *Waves of Despair, Waves of Hope: Cuban Migration and the Rise of the Cuban-American Community.* University of Notre Dame Press. Forthcoming. With Lisandro Perez and Sung-ChangSung..
- 2003 *This Land is Our Land: Newcomers and Established Residents in Miami.* University of

California Press. 2003. With Alex Stepick, Max Castro, Marvin Dunn.

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1994 *Newcomers in the Workplace: Immigrants and the Restructuring of the U.S. Economy*, with Louise Lamphere and Alex Stepick. Temple University Press, 1994. Winner of the Conrad Arensberg Award, American Anthropological Association.

1993 *Employee Participation and Labor Law in the American Workplace*, with Ray Hogler, Colorado State University. Quorum/Greenwood Publishing Co., 1993.

1992 *Miami Now: Immigration, Ethnicity and Social Change*, edited volume, with Alex Stepick. University Press of Florida, 1992.

1988 *Inhuman Relations: Quality Circles, and Anti-Unionism in U.S. Industry*. Temple University Press. 1988.

SELECTED RECENT ARTICLES (*Designates Peer Reviewed Manuscripts)

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Research, Florida International University,
March, 1991.

- 1990 *Changing Relations Among Newcomers and Established Residents: The Case of Miami* With Alex Stepick, Max Castro and Marvin Dunn. Research report submitted to Ford Foundation/Changing Relations Board, February 1990.
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J.A. Cobas and Jorge Duany, *Cubans in Puerto Rico*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997 (English language edition. Originally published in Spanish in 1995 by the University of Puerto Rico Press).

J.A. Cobas, Jorge Duany and J.R. Feagin (eds.), *How the United States Racializes Latinos: White Hegemony and Its Consequences* Paradigm Press, March, 2009.

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1. Books

From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959-1995. Rowman & Littlefield, (revised and expanded edition of *With Open Arms*) 1996

Plebiscite: Puerto Rico At a Political Crossroad. Co-editor with Héctor Vélez Guadalupe and Irma Almirall-Padamsee. Cornell University, 1991

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2. Selected Peer Reviewed Articles and Essays:

"The Cuban Community in Florida," *Ethnicity in the American South*. James Thomas, ed. University of North Carolina Press, 2007

Encyclopedia essays: "Cuban Americans" and "Marielitos." Richard T. Schaefer, editor. *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society*. SAGE publishers, 2007

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SELECTED RECENT SCHOLARLY PAPERS:

"Past, Present and Future of Academic Exchanges Between the U.S. and Cuba" Conference: The U.S. and Cuba: Rethinking Reengagement, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, September 25-27, 2008

"U.S.-Cuba Relations in the 1990s: Looking Back and Moving forward." Research Conference: Cuba: New Research Directions. University of California, Irvine, May 2-3, 2008

"Cuba, el plan Bush y el futuro de los intercambios académicos entre EE. UU. Y Cuba" Conferencia: Cuba Contra el Bloqueo, La Habana, March 19-21, 2008

"Welcome to Guantánamo: The Balseros Crisis in Historical Perspective," Symposium: The Balseros Crisis Ten Years Later: No Longer Adrift? Florida International University, July 16 & 17, 2004

"Immigration and Freedom to Travel: The Case of Cuba and the U.S. in the Current Military and Political Climate," National Lawyers Guild Convention, Minneapolis, October 24, 2003

Selected Biography of Lourdes Arguelles, Ph.D.

Born in Cuba and educated in the island and in the United States, Dr. Lourdes Arguelles is currently a full professor tenured in the School of Educational Studies and in the Department of Cultural Studies at Claremont Graduate University, a member of the Claremont Colleges Consortium in Southern California. She teaches courses and does trans-disciplinary research in the areas of immigrant community studies, conflict resolution, and neuro-scientific and contemplative perspectives in teaching, counseling, and learning. She is also a licensed psychotherapist in the State of California who works primarily and pro-bono with survivors of political and domestic violence and cult abuse as well as with Latino immigrant families.

Dr. Arguelles received her Ph.D. in Education from the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies at New York University. Her doctoral areas of concentration were Psychology and Sociology and her dissertation was entitled: "Cuban Political Refugees in the United States: A Study of Social Mobility and Authoritarianism". She also holds a M.S. degree in Counseling from Barry University in North Miami, Fla. and a B.A. in Economics from the University of Miami, where she also did graduate work in Psychology and Education. Dr. Arguelles also received a Certificate in Law and Psychiatry from York University, Ontario, Canada and was a post-doctoral scholar in Comparative Ethnic Studies at the Chicano Studies Center of the University of California

in Los Angeles. In addition, she spent a year in India, mostly at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala and the Gandhi Peace Foundation in New Delhi, researching the potential use of Eastern contemplative traditions and approaches to conflict resolution for work in schools and communities in the United States.

Before her tenure at Claremont Graduate University, Dr. Arguelles occupied the Mac Arthur Chair in Women Studies at Pitzer College in Claremont, California and a Professor of Chicano/Latino Studies. She has been a full-time faculty member in Departments of Psychology, Sociology, Social Work, and Medicine at different institutions such as Loyola College (Montreal), University of Waterloo (Ontario), University of British Columbia, University of New Mexico, Arizona State University, and the University of California, Los Angeles. During these years her teaching and research focus was on the Cuban émigré experience and on the dynamics of conflict in immigrant and working-class communities.

Dr. Arguelles has also been Research Director for the Department (now Ministry) of Human Resources of the British Columbia Provincial Government in Canada and a research and evaluation consultant for AIDS Project Los Angeles, the National Institute of Drug Abuse, LEARN, and the National Institutes for Mental Health among many international, national, and regional governmental and private institutions. Recently, she was Co-Principal Investigator of a neuro-science and contemplative-based teaching

program funded by a major U.S. Congressional grant. The program was designed to reduce the stress and improve the cognitive performance of high-school students in inner cities schools in Florida, California, Texas, New York, and Washington, D.C..

In the last ten years, Dr. Arguelles has directed several award-winning community learning and teacher training programs based in Latino immigrant and U.S.-Mexico Border enclaves . These programs, most of which are still operating, have been funded by more than two million dollars of grants from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Atlantic Philanthropies, and the Jacobs and Weingart Foundations. While directing these community-based projects, Dr. Arguelles continued and expanded her research into immigrant everyday life and conflict dynamics, work which has been published in academic and popular journals around the world.

The mother of three grown Cuban American children, Dr. Arguelles lives in Southern California. She can be reached through her office at the School of Educational Studies, Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, California 91711.

SELECTED BIOGRAPHY OF RUBÉN G. RUMBAUT

Rubén G. Rumbaut is Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Irvine. A native of Havana, Cuba, he received his Ph.D. in Sociology from Brandeis University in 1978. Dr. Rumbaut was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford in 2000-01, and a Visiting Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York City in 1997-98. He is the Founding Chair of the Section on International Migration of the American Sociological Association, and an elected member of the ASA's Council and of the Sociological Research Association. He is a member of the Committee on Population of the National Academy of Sciences, the Committee on International Migration of the Social Science Research Council, and the MacArthur Research Network on Transitions to Adulthood and Public Policy.

An internationally known scholar of immigration and refugee movements, and a leading expert on immigration in the United States who has testified before the U.S. Congress at hearings on comprehensive immigration reform, Dr. Rumbaut co-directs the landmark *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study* (CILS), begun in 1991; and a large-scale study of *Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles* (IIMMLA). He directed the first *National Survey of Immigration Scholars* in the United States, which generated new knowledge about the social origins and intellectual formation of the

multidisciplinary field of international migration studies. Throughout the 1980s he directed the principal studies of the migration and incorporation of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia – the *Indochinese Health and Adaptation Research Project* and the *Southeast Asian Refugee Youth Study*. He has traveled to Vietnam and Cambodia, and earlier to Sierra Leone, where he organized a field project on international health and economic development. In the 1990s, he served as academic advisor for a prime-time 10-part PBS television series, *Americas*, focusing on Latin American and Caribbean societies, as well as on Mexicans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Professor Rumbaut is the author of more than one hundred scientific articles and chapters in scholarly volumes on the adaptation of immigrants and refugees in the United States. His research has focused on types of immigrants and refugees and their contexts of exit and reception, intergenerational differences in adaptation, crime and incarceration, bilingualism and language loss, ethnic identity, citizenship and national membership, infant health and mortality, fertility, depression, self-esteem, educational achievement and aspirations, social mobility and inequality, modes of acculturation, and paradoxes of assimilation. His books include the critically acclaimed *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (with Alejandro Portes; new ed. 2006); *Immigration Research for a New Century: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (with Nancy Foner and Steven J. Gold);

Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in America (with Silvia Pedraza); and *California's Immigrant Children: Theory, Research, and Implications for Educational Policy* (with Wayne Cornelius). He has published two companion books based on CILS (with Alejandro Portes): *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*, and *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, the latter of which won the American Sociological Association's top award in 2002 for Distinguished Scholarship, as well as the 2002 Thomas and Znaniecki Award for best book in the immigration field.

As a member of a panel of the National Academy of Sciences (with Marta Tienda *et al.*) he worked on two companion volumes on the Hispanic population of the United States, recently published by the National Academies Press: *Multiple Origins, Uncertain Destinies*; and *Hispanics and the Future of America*. He also edits (with Steven J. Gold) a research-oriented book series, "*The New Americans: Recent Immigration and American Society*" (LFB Scholarly Publishing, New York); under their editorship more than four dozen titles have been published since 2002 on a wide range of immigration topics.

Selected Biography of Louis A. Pérez, Jr.

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Education

New York University, 1961-1962
 Pace College, 1962-1965 B.A.
 University of Arizona, 1965-1966 M.A.
 University of New Mexico, 1966-1971 Ph.D.

Professional Association Memberships

American Historical Association
 Latin American Studies Association
 Conference on Latin American History
 Association of Caribbean Historians
 Association of Third World Studies

Recent Publications: Books

Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988; Second edition, 1995; Third edition, 2006.
Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1990; Second edition, 1997; Third edition, 2003.
Essays on Cuban History: Historiography and Research. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1995.

- The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Tampa Cigar Workers.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002. (With Robert P. Ingalls)
- Los Archivos de Cuba/The Archives of Cuba.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003. (Co-edited with Rebecca J. Scott)
- To Die in Cuba: Suicide and Society.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 2005.
- Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Recent Publications: Articles

- "The Circle of Connections: One Hundred Years of Cuba-U.S. Relations," *Michigan Quarterly*, XXIII (Summer 1994), 437-455.
- "Between Baseball and Bullfighting: The Quest for Nationality in Cuba, 1868-1898," *Journal of American History*, LXXXI (September 1994), 493-517.
- "1898 and Beyond: Historiographical Variations on War and Empire," *Pacific Historical Review*, LXV (May 1996), 313-316.
- "Identidad y nacionalidad: Las raíces del separatismo cubano, 1868-1898," *Op. Cit. Revista del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas* (Río Piedras, P.R.), IX (1997), 185-195.

- "Between Meanings and Memories of 1898," *Orbis*, XXXXII (Fall, 1998), 507-516.
- "Incurring a Debt of Gratitude: 1898 and the Moral Sources of United States Hegemony in Cuba," *The American Historical Review*, CIV (April 1999), 356-398.
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- "Between Encounter and Experience: Florida in the Cuba Imagination," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXXXII (Fall 2003), 170-190.
- "In the Shadow of the Winds: Rethinking the Meaning of Hurricanes," *ReVista*, 5 (Winter 2007), 10-12.
-

DECLARATION BY LISANDRO PÉREZ

1. I am a Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Director of the Cuban Research Institute at Florida International University, Miami's senior institution of public higher education.

2. I have lived in Miami for 27 years, first from 1960 to 1970, immediately after arriving from Cuba, and then from 1985 to the present. Most of my work during the past 15 years has involved applying my knowledge of Cuba and Cuban Americans to an understanding of the dynamics of this community. My entire academic career has been devoted almost exclusively to the study of Cuban society, Cuban migration, and the development of Cuban communities in the U.S., especially Miami. My first research project was my M.A thesis, which focused on Cuban demographics, and was completed at the University of Florida in 1972. I received my PhD in Sociology from that institution in 1974.

3. Since then, I have published numerous articles, chapters, edited books and other writings on Cuba and on Cuban Americans. I am co-author of a forthcoming (November 2002) book to be published by Allyn & Bacon entitled: *The Legacy of Exile: Cubans in the United States*. I am the Editor-in-Chief of a comprehensive encyclopedia on Cuba to be published by Macmillan Reference, and I have served since 1999 as the Editor of *Cuban Studies*, the oldest and most prestigious academic journal in the field. For

further reference on my credentials, please see my curriculum vita, attached.

4. The appellants' attorney, Leonard I. Weinglass, has asked me to bring my expertise to bear on the issue of the likelihood of selecting in Miami-Dade County an impartial jury to render a verdict in a case involving acknowledged agents of the Cuban government. This statement summarizes my expert opinion on that issue and only on that issue. I do not have a position on the guilt or innocence of the appellants.

5. Prior to having been contacted by Mr. Weinglass in October of 2002, I had no involvement in this case. My knowledge of it was limited to newspaper and other media accounts. Since being contacted by Mr. Weinglass, we have held one conversation on the case prior to my drafting this statement and I have also read transcript references provided to me of the selection process of the jury that originally convicted the appellants and of the questioning of prospective jurors. I used those references along with the leading sources on the dynamics of Miami and the Cuban American community, most of which are listed at the end of the statement.

6. Let me state at the outset my conclusion, which I will develop and substantiate in the rest of this statement: the possibility of selecting twelve citizens of Miami-Dade County who can be impartial in a case involving acknowledged agents of the Cuban government is virtually zero. I would reach that

conclusion even if the jury were composed entirely of non-Cubans, as it was in this case.

7. To understand this conclusion, it is important to keep in mind that the usual approaches for determining and countering the influence of community bias on the process of jury selection are of limited applicability in this case. In determining bias, extensive pre-trial media coverage unfavorable to defendants is usually the most common indicator and represents the foremost argument for changing the venue.

8. In this case, pre-trial media coverage is an insufficient indicator of the depth of the community's pre-trial bias against the defendants. And selecting a non-Cuban jury does not counter that bias. Most of the remainder of this statement involves explicating and substantiating those two related points.

9. First, it is important to keep in mind that persons of Cuban birth or descent represent the largest single racial/ethnic/national origin group in Miami-Dade County. According to the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, in the county there are more persons of Cuban birth or descent (650,600) than there are white non-Hispanics (465,770), more than African-Americans (427,140), and more than all the other Hispanic nationality groups combined (641,130). Two every seven people in Greater Miami is a Cuban. It is not just one more immigrant group in the city's race/ethnic mosaic. It is

the largest group, period, among immigrants or nonimmigrants alike.

10. It was therefore to be expected that more than twenty percent of the jury pool be of Cuban birth or descent. Nor is it surprising that several non-Cubans in that pool had some personal ties with Cubans somehow involved in the case. In purely demographic terms, therefore, the Cuban presence in Miami-Dade is sizable and pervasive.

11. The importance of that presence, however, is based on much more than just demographics. In social, political, and economic terms Cubans exert an influence in Miami-Dade County that extends well beyond the Cuban community itself. Those who arrived from Cuba in the 1960s established the bases of that community. They were disproportionately drawn from the upper sectors of Cuban society. Many were professionals or entrepreneurs and had university degrees. A significant proportion had previous business experience, and more than a few had contacts with U.S. companies that had done business with Cuba before the revolution. Furthermore, their migration was facilitated by the U.S. government, which gave them entry as refugees and provided them with economic assistance.

12. Those earlier and privileged exiles eventually established in Miami what is regarded as the foremost example in the United States of a true ethnic enclave. An ethnic enclave is a strong ethnic community that is organized around a highly

differentiated range of enterprises and institutions, which serve, and profit from, the community. At the core of the enclave is entrepreneurship. Already by the 1990s, 42 percent of all enterprises in Miami-Dade County were Hispanic-owned, and three-quarters of those were Cuban-owned, generating far more revenue than Hispanic-owned businesses elsewhere in the U.S. The range of that entrepreneurship is impressive. The variety of sales and services controlled by Cubans, as well as their penetration into the professions, is so extensive that it is argued that it is possible for Miami Cubans to live entirely within their own community. One of the economic benefits of the enclave is the multiplication of social networks. The dense social networks of Cuban Miami provide a tremendous asset by which members of the community can advance their agenda of upward mobility for themselves and, especially, for their children. The enclave has provide the springboard, through experience and education, for the entry of many Cubans into the upper-management ranks of the largest institutions and organizations in Miami-Dade County, both private and public.

13. The economic clout of Cubans in Miami has been matched by their political influence. Few U.S. immigrant groups have attained electoral representation and political empowerment as rapidly as Cubans in Miami. During the 1980s Cubans in Miami established pivotal local power, exercised through the increasing number of elected officials and such organizations as the Cuban American

National Foundation, the Latin Builders Association, the Hispanic Builders Association, and the Latin Chamber of Commerce. The size of the Cuban community in Greater Miami and its fairly high turnout rates during elections produced a boom in the number of Cubans in elected positions at all levels of government. By the late 1980s, the City of Miami had a Cuban-born mayor, and the city manager and the county manager were both Cubans. Cubans controlled the City Commission and constituted more than one-third of the Miami-Dade delegation to the State legislature. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Cuban, won election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1989. By the 1990s Cuban-Americans were mayors of the incorporated areas of Miami, Hialeah, Sweetwater, West Miami, and Hialeah Gardens, all within Miami-Dade. Cubans comprise a majority in the commissions or councils of those cities. When the 1990s began there were already ten Cubans in the Florida Legislature, seven in the House and three in the Senate. Ros-Lehtinen was joined by another Cuban, Lincoln Diaz-Balart, in the U.S. Congress during the 1992 election cycle. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, six of the thirteen Miami-Dade County commissioners are Cuban, as is the mayor, Alex Penelas. Cubans head the two largest institutions of higher education in the county. Nowhere else in America, nor even in American history, have first generation immigrants so quickly, or so thoroughly, appropriated political power.

14. The pervasiveness of the Cubans' political and economic influence means that their priorities and agenda also take center stage in Miami. Cubans and their culture set the pace. David Rieff, a New Yorker who has written on Miami, has noted that Cubans have largely succeeded in taking "atmospheric control" of the city (*Going to Miami*, 1987, p. 143).

15. It was inevitable that Cubans would inject into the atmosphere of Miami their most overriding concern: the ongoing struggle for the recovery of their homeland. An identity as exiles is a central theme of the ethos of Cuban Americans, contributing to a particularly "Cuban" way of looking at the social and political environment. This vision is the "exile ideology" and it has three principal characteristics: 1) the primacy of the homeland; 2) uncompromising hostility towards the Cuban government; and 3) a passionate attachment to their ideology and intolerance to contrary views.

16. In the exile ideology, the desire to recover the homeland is the focus of political discourse and the source of mobilization in the Cuban American community. During the past forty years there has been a protracted continuation of the intense conflict that occurred in the early 1960s, when the Cuban government was entrenching itself against the serious attempts by the U.S. government and some sectors of Cuban society to overthrow it. For many Cubans who "lost" that conflict and went into exile,

the struggle has not ended, and they have tried, with amazing success, to keep the conflict alive.

17. The goal of the Cuban exile is the overthrow of Fidel Castro, and this is to be accomplished through hostility and isolation. Energizing that struggle is the highly emotional nature of the exile ideology.

18. The least favorable side of emotionalism and irrationality is intolerance to views that do not conform to the predominant "exile" ideology of an uncompromising hostility towards the Cuban government. Those inside or outside the community who voice views that are favorable or even "soft" or conciliatory with respect to Castro are usually subject to criticism and scorn, their position belittled and their motives questioned. Any dissent in Miami is especially difficult. The Cubans' pervasive influence in Miami means that great pressures can be brought to bear on the dissenting individual or group. Such pressures can be economic, political, or social, but they have also involved the threat of violence. There is a long history of threats, bomb scares, actual bombings, and even murders directed at persons who have dissented from the predominant anti-Castro positions or have demonstrated a perceived "softness" toward the regime. In addition to the indisputable record of this, I can attest to the veracity of it through personal experience. Based upon information at their disposal, the FBI deemed it necessary to place my home under protective surveillance for several days in October 1989. During those days an international

academic conference I helped to organize was convening in Miami. The Cuban community vilified the conference (and all those connected with it) simply because academics from Cuba were in attendance.

19. Many Cubans and non-Cubans who have dissented from the hardline stance of hostility to the Cuban government have felt such pressures. Even institutions outside of the Cuban community are wary of not making statements or holding activities (such as inviting artists from Cuba) that would evoke the displeasure of the leadership of Cuban American leaders. Even *The Miami Herald*, the only daily English-language newspaper, started moving, both editorially and in its coverage, in the direction of courting the support of the Cuban community. Despite its liberal tradition, *The Herald* is now one of the very few of the major newspapers in the U.S. that favors a hardline policy towards Cuba, including the embargo on the island. This is highly significant, for it means that the exile agenda and discourse has found resonance and support in the principal print media of non-Cubans in Miami, serving to spread the exile message outside the community.

20. By the 1990s it appeared that perhaps the stridency, militancy, and intolerance among Cuban Americans might be waning with the passage of time. But two events served to reenergize the traditional exile ideology and create a climate in Miami that is of special relevance to the venue issue in this case.

21. One of those events, on February 24, 1999, was the downing by Cuban military jets of two civilian aircraft piloted by Cuban Americans. It was an event that caused outrage in both the community and the local press and rekindled the strident anti-Castro sentiment and discourse in Miami. The reaction to the incident was uniform throughout Miami as both Cubans and non-Cubans stood united in their outrage and condemnation of the Cuban government. The prosecutors tied this important event to this case.

22. The other event started on Thanksgiving Day, 1999, when a six-year-old boy, Elián González, was found floating on an inner tube off the coast of Florida, and ended with the return of the boy to his father less than a year before this trial opened.

23. The Elián affair energized most of the Cuban American community, even younger generations who had not been previously active in the exile agenda. From the beginning of the Elián saga, the predominant voices among Cuban Americans defined the situation as a battle with Fidel Castro over a trophy, a trophy they were determined not to lose. During forty years Fidel Castro may have triumphed over the exiles by retaining power in Cuba, but he was not, the exiles vowed, going to win this battle. The child was in their hands, in "their" city, a city where they had triumphed, a city they "controlled." Even at the federal level, there was reason to be confident: the U.S. government had always proved willing to accommodate the exiles' agenda of combating Fidel Castro.

24. The 1996 shoot-down and the Elián saga served to reassure many Cubans, and remind many non-Cubans, that the exile ideology, complete with its emotionalism, irrationality, and intolerance, was still alive in Miami.

25. After having laid out the context and climate to the process of jury selection in this case, I will restate my two basic points, now evident: 1) in this case, pre-trial media coverage is an insufficient indicator of the depth of the community's pre-trial bias against the defendants; 2) selecting a non-Cuban jury does not counter that bias.

26. It is evident from the foregoing discussion that an overwhelming community bias against defendants who acknowledged being agents of the Cuban government is something that runs much deeper in Miami than unfavorable pre-trial publicity. Any evidence presented of such publicity would only be the tip of the iceberg. Miami has lived with anti-Castroism for forty years; it is part of the "atmosphere" that Cuban Americans have created in the city. In what other city in the U.S. would not one of the 164 jurors questioned publicly acknowledge a favorable impression of Cuba, with only three reporting a "balanced" view?

27. Evidently, the expression of such views was by no means limited to Cuban Americans, consistent with the analysis I have presented in this statement. The exiles' anti-Castro agenda is at the forefront of the political discourse in Miami. Even the most

important English-language daily newspaper resonates with it. The style of that agenda is passionate and intolerant. If non-Cubans did not know that before the Elián case, they learned it then. Non-Cubans may publicly express such strong anti-Castro views because they sincerely hold them as a result of their local political climate, or because they may feel intimidated or pressured into voicing such views. They may also feel compelled to remain silent.

28. It is undoubtedly the case that all those in Miami who disagree with the predominant exile views, Cubans or non-Cubans, do not feel compelled to publicly remain silent or conform. Indeed, some did express dissenting views on the fate of Elián and many more have expressed dissenting views on current U.S. policy. But this case is not about the appropriate U.S. policy towards Cuba. It is not even about the custody of a child. This case is about people accused by the U.S. government of spying for Fidel Castro and of helping to perpetrate a violent act that resulted in deaths and was widely condemned in the community. The 1996 shutdown was uniformly repudiated in Miami. If Cubans and non-Cubans in Miami have felt uncomfortable dissenting even in the Elián case, we can be sure that dissenting in this case approaches a taboo, a position that no one would want to take, or even appear to take.

29. Given the sociological forces unique to Miami-Dade, described above, I repeat my conclusion here: the possibility of selecting twelve citizens of Miami-Dade County who can be impartial in a case

involving acknowledged agents of the Cuban government is virtually zero.

I HEREBY DECLARE UNDER THE PENALTY OF PERJURY THAT THE FOREGOING IS TRUE AND COMPLETE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF.

SIGNED THIS 19th DAY OF OCTOBER OF 2002 AT MIAMI FLORIDA

/s/ Lisandro Pérez ID FL DL P620534490630
Professor

/s/ Harriet M. Ranallo 10/19/02
Under oath administered by
Notary Public

[SEAL] OFFICIAL [Illegible]
HARRIET M RANALLO
COMMISSION NUMBER
DD 054325
MY COMMISSION EXPIRES
SEPT. 22, 2005

ATTACHMENT A

Curriculum vita, Lisandro Pérez

Vita

September 2002

LISANDRO PEREZ

Born February 23, 1949, La Habana, Cuba; U.S. citizen

**Professor
Sociology and
Anthropology**

**Director
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Professional positions:

At Florida International University:

Associate Professor, Sociology and Anthropology
(1985-present)

Director, Cuban Research Institute
(1991-present)

Chairperson, Department of Sociology and
Anthropology (1985-1991)

Director, M.A. Program in International Studies
(1986-1988)

At Louisiana State University:

Associate Professor, Sociology, 1978-1985

Assistant Professor, Sociology, 1974-1978

Acting Chair, Sociology and Rural Sociology,
1984-1985

Coordinator of Graduate Studies, Sociology,
1979-1984

Full Member of the Graduate Faculty, 1982-1985

Associate Member of the Graduate Faculty,
1975-1982

Degrees:

Ph.D. University of Florida, August 1974.

Sociology.

Minor: Latin American Studies. Dissertation title: "An Analysis of the Migrant Population of Bogota, Colombia." Major professor: T. Lynn Smith.

M.A. University of Florida, December 1972.

Sociology.

Minor: Anthropology. Thesis title: "The Growth of the Population of Cuba, 1953-1970." Major professor: John Saunders.

B.A. University of Miami, June 1970.

Major field: Sociology. Minor fields: English and Spanish

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

forthcoming (2003)

Guillermo Grenier and Lisandro Pérez. *The Legacy of Exile: Cubans in the United States*. Allyn & Bacon (New Immigrants Series).

Edited books and journals:

in progress (under contract)

Lisandro Pérez, Editor-in-Chief. *The Encyclopedia of Cuba*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA (apprx. 650 pages, 400 entries).

2002

Lisandro Pérez, editor. *Cuban Studies*, vol. 33 Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Forthcoming.

2001

Lisandro Pérez, editor. *Cuban Studies*, vol. 32 Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 223 pp.

2000

Lisandro Pérez, editor. *Cuban Studies*, vol. 31. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 219 pp.

1999

Lisandro Pérez, editor. *Cuban Studies*, vol. 30. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 193 pp.

Academic articles in serial publications:

2001

Lisandro Pérez. "La emigración y la crisis estructural de la República." *Temas* (La Habana), no. 24-25 (January-June).

1999

Lisandro Pérez. "De Nueva York a Miami: El desarrollo demográfico de las comunidades cubanas en Estados Unidos." *Encuentro* (Madrid), vol. 15 (winter), 13-23.

1995

Lisandro Pérez. "The Population of Cuba: The Growth and Characteristics of its Labor Force." *Columbia Journal of World Business*, vol. 30, no. 1 (Spring), 58-65.

1994

Lisandro Perez. "The Household Structure of Second-Generation Children: An Exploratory Study of Extended Family Arrangements." *International Migration Review*, vol. 28, no. 4 (Winter), 736-747.

1990

Lisandro Pérez. "The 1990's: Cuban Miami at the Crossroads." *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos*, vol. 20, 3-9.

1986

Lisandro Pérez. "Cubans in the United States." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 487 (September), 126-137.

1986

Lisandro Pérez. "Immigrant Economic Adjustment and Family Organization: The Cuban Success Story Reexamined." *International Migration Review*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring), 4-20.

1985

Lisandro Pérez. "The Cuban Population of the United States: The Results of the 1980 U.S. Census of Population." *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer), 1-18.

1984

Lisandro Pérez. "The Political Contexts of Cuban Population Censuses, 1899-1981." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 19, no. 2, 143-61.

1983

Lisandro Pérez. "The Holdings of the Library of Congress on the Population of Cuba." *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Winter), 69-76.

1982

Lisandro Pérez. "Iron Mining and Socio-Demographic Change in Eastern Cuba, 1884-1940." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 14, part 2 (November), 381-405.

1982

Sergio Diaz-Briquets and Lisandro Pérez. "Fertility Decline in Cuba: A Socioeconomic Interpretation." *Population and Development Review*, vol. 8, no. 3, 513-37.

1982

Thomas D. Boswell, Guarione M. Diaz, and Lisandro Pérez. "Socioeconomic Status of Cuban Americans." *Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Fall/Winter), 29-41.

1980

Lisandro Pérez and Maisy L. Cheng. "The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America: The Exception of Louisiana." *Southern Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Summer), 193-210.

1979

Lisandro Pérez. "The Human Ecology of Rural Areas: An Appraisal of a Field of Study with Suggestions for a Synthesis." *Rural Sociology*, vol. 44 (Fall), 584-601.

1977

Lisandro Pérez. "The Demographic Dimensions of the Educational Problem in Socialist Cuba." *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos*, vol. 7, no. 1 (January), 33-57.

Chapters in multi-authored works:

2001

Lisandro Pérez. "Growing Up in Cuban Miami: Immigration, the Enclave, and New Generations." In *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*, edited by Rubén Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes. Berkeley: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation Press.

1999

Lisandro Pérez. "The End of Exile? A New Era in U.S. Immigration Policy Toward Cuba." Chapter 11 of *Free Markets, Open Societies, Closed Borders?* Edited by Max J. Castro. Miami: North-South Press.

1999

Guillermo Grenier and Lisandro Pérez. "Cubans." In *A Nation of Peoples: A Sourcebook on America's Multicultural Heritage*. Edited by Elliott Robert Barkan. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.

1998

Guillermo J. Grenier and Lisandro Pérez. "Refugees to Immigrants: The Rise of the Cuban American Community in Miami." In *Many Americas: Critical Perspectives on Race, Racism, and Ethnicity*, edited by Gregory R. Campbell. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

1998

Lisandro Pérez. "Florida's Hispanics and the State's Political Process." In *Amid Political, Cultural and Civic Diversity: Building a Sense of Statewide Community in Florida*, edited by Lance deHaven-Smith and David Colburn. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

1996

Lisandro Pérez. "The Households of Children of Immigrants in South Florida: An Exploratory Study of Extended Family Arrangements." In *The New Second Generation*, edited by Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

1996

Guillermo J. Grenier and Lisandro Pérez. "Miami Spice: The Ethnic Cauldron Simmers." In *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*, edited by Silvia Pedraza and Rubén G. Rumbaut. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

1996

Lisandro Pérez. "Treinta años no son nada: La estabilidad y el cambio en la cultura política de los emigrados cubanos en los Estados Unidos." In *Razón y pasión: Veinticinco años de estudios cubanos*, edited by Leonel de la Cuesta and Maria Cristina Herrera. Miami: Ediciones Universal.

1994

Lisandro Pérez. "Cuban Catholics in the United States." Part II (pp. 145-247) of *Puerto Rican and Cuban Catholics in the U.S., 1900-1965*, edited by Jay P. Dolan and Jaime R. Vidal. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

1993

Lisandro Pérez. "Cuban Families in the United States." *Minority Families in the United States: A Multicultural Perspective*, edited by Ronald L. Taylor. Prentice-Hall.

1992

Lisandro Pérez. "Cuban Miami." *Miami Now!*, edited by Guillermo Grenier and Alex Stepick. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.

1988

Lisandro Pérez. "Adaptación económica del inmigrante y organización familiar: revisión del éxito cubano." In *Hispanos en los Estados Unidos*, edited by Rodolfo J. Cortina and Alberto Moncada. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana.

1984

Lisandro Pérez. "Migration from Socialist Cuba: A Critical Analysis of the Literature." *Cubans in the United States*, edited by Miren Uriarte-Gaston and Jorge Cañas Martínez. Boston: Center for the Study of the Cuban Community.

1980

Lisandro Pérez. "The Family in Cuba." *The Family in Latin America*, edited by Man Singh Das and Clifton Jesser. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Short monographs, bulletins, and policy papers:

1998

Lisandro Pérez. "Cuba and Cuban Americans: An Irreconcilable Relationship?" Cuba Briefing Paper, Caribbean Project, Georgetown University, number 16 (January).

1981

Sergio Diaz-Briquets and Lisandro Pérez. *Cuba: The Demography of Revolution*. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, vol. 36, no. 1 of the PRB Population Bulletin Series. 41 pp. Portions reprinted

as a chapter in *Cuban Communism*, edited by Irving Louis Horowitz (5th ed.; Transaction Books, 1984), 331-66.

1979

Lisandro Pérez. *Working Offshore: A Preliminary Analysis of Social Factors Associated with Safety in the Offshore Workplace*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Center for Wetland Resources, Sea Grant Publication No. LSU-T-79001, March, 66 pp.

1977

Lisandro Pérez and Maisy L. Cheng. *Population Change in Louisiana: 1970-1975*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin no. 705. 39 pp.

1977

Lisandro Pérez and Maisy L. Cheng. *Infant Mortality in Louisiana: Levels, Trends, and Differentials*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin no. 698. 35 pp.

Encyclopedia articles:

2002

Lisandro Pérez

"Cuban Americans." *Encyclopedia of World Cultures: Supplement*, edited by Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian Skoggard. New York: MacMillan Reference USA.

1997

Guillermo J. Grenier and Lisandro Pérez. "Cubans." *American Immigrant Cultures: Builders of a Nation*, edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember. New York: MacMillan Reference USA.

1989

Lisandro Pérez. "Cubans in the South." *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, 1989.

1980

Lisandro Pérez. "Cubans." *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, edited by Stephen Thernstrom. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Short articles, editorships, and miscellaneous publications:

1993

Lisandro Pérez. "Cubans in the United States: The Paradoxes of Exile Culture." *Culturefront* (published by the New York Council for the Humanities), vol. 2, number 1 (Winter), 12-16.

1992

Lisandro Pérez. "Commentary: Unique but Not Marginal: Cubans in Exile." *Cuban Studies Since the Revolution*, edited by Damián J. Fernández. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.

1991

Lisandro Pérez. "Miami Ethnic Mix." *Miami City Guide*. APA Publications.

1990

Lisandro Pérez. Guest Editor, vol. 20, *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* (University of Pittsburgh Press). Issue is devoted to the Cuban community in Miami.

1989

Lisandro Pérez. "Cuba and the American Left." *Hemisphere*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Fall), 13-14.

1982

Lisandro Pérez. "Comment: Cubans and Mexicans in the United States." *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos*, 11:2/12:1 (July-January), 99-103.

1982-1988

Contributing Editor, *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (annual publication of the Library of Congress). Section, Sociology: the Caribbean and the Guianas, vols. 45-51.

1975-1982

Contributing Editor, *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. Section, Sociology: South America, the Andean countries, vols. 37-43

1983

Lisandro Pérez. "History of a People in a Cloud of Smoke." Op-Ed Essay. *The New York Times*, July 23, 1983, p. 17.

1985-1994

Member, Board of Contributors, *The Miami Herald*. Author of occasional essays that have appeared in the Sunday editions of *The Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald*.

Book reviews in the following journals:

Journal of the American Statistical Association, *Cuban Studies*, *Society*, *Hemisphere*, *Rural Sociology*, *Caribbean Review*, *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*/New West Indian Guide, *Inter-American Review of Bibliography*.

FELLOWSHIPS AND EXTERNALLY-FUNDED RESEARCH AND PROGRAMS

Co-Principal Investigator, "US/Cuba Policy: The Transition in Cuba and in the Cuban-American Community." Two-year grant of \$100,000 awarded by The Christopher Reynolds Foundation to support research on the role of the Cuban-American community in a Cuban transition, 2000-2002.

Principal Investigator, "Cuban Women Writers' Project." One-year grant of \$12,000 awarded by the General Service Foundation to bring together women writers from Cuba and from the Cuban diaspora, 2000.

Principal Investigator, "A Program of Research Collaboration with Cuba." Two-year grant of \$100,000 awarded by The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation to expand and intensify collaborative research programs with colleagues and academic institutions in Cuba, 2000-2001.

Principal Investigator, "Academic Exchange and Collaboration with U.S. Nonprofits and Cuba." Two-year grant of \$28,000 awarded by The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc. to support the expansion of the CRI's programs of exchange and collaborations with Cuban academics and its role as a resource for contacts between U.S. nonprofits and Cuban institutions, 1999-2001.

Principal Investigator, AA Program of Academic Travel and Research Collaboration with Cuba." Two-year grant of \$74,127 awarded by the Ford Foundation to expand the scope of the previous grants "Travel to Cuba," and "A Program of Academic Travel and Research Collaboration with Cuba," 1998-2001.

Principal Investigator "Cuba and US Nonprofits: A Resource Guide and Directory." Two-year grant of \$100,873 awarded by the Ford Foundation to develop a guide and directory to facilitate contact of U.S. nonprofits with appropriate institutions in Cuba, 1998-2001.

Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, September 1997-August 1998.

Principal Investigator, "Island and Diaspora: Cuban National Sovereignty, Identity, and Reconciliation in the 21st Century." Four-year, \$250,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a program of resident fellowships in the humanities at the Cuban Research Institute, 1994-98.

Principal Investigator, "A Program of Academic Travel and Research Collaboration with Cuba." Two-year grant of \$50,000 awarded by the Ford Foundation to expand the scope of the previous grant "Travel to Cuba," 1995-1997.

Principal Investigator, "Travel to Cuba." Three-year grant of \$28,000 awarded by the Ford Foundation to support travel of FIU faculty to Cuba and for visits from colleagues in Cuba, 1992-1995.

Principal Investigator, "Cuba in Transition." One-year grant of \$500,000 awarded in June 1992 by the Office of Research of the U.S. Department of State and the Agency for International Development for research on economic and political issues relevant to a transition in Cuba.

Principal Investigator, "Blacks and Latinos in Greater Miami." One-year grant of \$20,000 awarded by the Inter-University Program for Latino Research on April 1992. Programs of research and public affairs events on relations between African-Americans and Latinos.

Social Science Research Council Fellow, August 1980 to August 1981. Awarded by the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Title of the project: "The Social Demography of Twentieth-Century Cuba." The fellowship was combined with an academic-year sabbatical leave from Louisiana State University that was spent on research in Washington, D.C.

Tinker Foundation Fellow, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, 1972-74.

MISCELLANEOUS PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member of the Advisory Committee of the Sydney S. Spivack Program in Applied Social Research and Social Policy of the American Sociological Association, 1996-98.

Chair of the Joint Committee of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research and the Social Science Research Council for Hispanic Public Policy Issues, 1991-1995.

Member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research, 1990-.

Consultant on U.S. Latino communities and their cultures, Children's Television Workshop, New York, 1992.

Member of the Latino Advisory Committee of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, 1994-.

Member of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors, Institute of Cuban Studies, 1980-1999.

Member of the Advisory Board for the journal *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos*, 1981-1998.

COURSES TAUGHT at Louisiana State University:

- 2001 Introduction to Sociology
- 2351 Rural Sociology
- 2505 Marriage and Family Relationships
- 2721 The City
- 4361 Latin American Societies
- 4401 The Family
- 4411 Sociology of Work
- 4701 Population and 4702 Population Lab
- 7391 Seminar: Latin American Societies
- 7791 Seminar: Population Analysis

Directed five M.A. theses and two Ph.D. dissertations of students in the Department of Sociology and in the Institute of Latin American Studies. Served as a member of M.A. and Ph.D. committees of students in the departments of sociology, history, economics, geography, extension education, and Latin American Studies.

COURSES TAUGHT at Florida International University:

- 2000 Introduction to Sociology
- 3300 Research Methods
- 3120 Marriage and the Family
- 3331 World Issues and Prospects
- 4010 Classical Sociological Theories
- 4343 Cuban Culture and Society
- 4621 Cubans in the U.S.
- 5447 Seminar: Sociology of International Development

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS CHAIR OF SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY (1985-1991)

Creation of eight new faculty positions and conducted the recruitment and hiring for those positions.

Developed the plan and materials for the Department's M.A. and Ph.D. programs and obtained the approval for the programs from the University and the State Board of Regents.

Successfully steered the Department through a Board of Regents external review of the B.A. program, which resulted in a highly positive evaluation.

**MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS DIRECTOR
OF THE CUBAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE (1991-)**

Obtained \$1,263,000 in external grants for programs of the CRI, including a highly-competitive Humanities Fellowship Program from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Awarded the editorship of the journal *Cuban Studies*, the oldest and leading journal in the field, for a five-year term as a result of a competitive selection process conducted by the University of Pittsburgh Press.

Established and organized, starting in 1997, the CRI Conference on Cuban and Cuban American Studies, held every 18 months on the FIU campus and attracting more than 200 scholars from across the U.S., Latin America and Europe. The 4th Conference will be held in March 2002. It has become the most important conference in the field.

Instituted a Certificate Program in Cuban and Cuban American Studies at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Established the first Study in Cuba Program for FIU students in the summer of 2001. Twenty-three students spent 12 days in Cuba with FIU faculty members as part of the requirements for course credit.

Supported faculty and graduate research in Cuba. More than twelve FIU faculty members and eight graduate students have been supported by the CRI for research-related travel to Cuba. The CRI has also

supported travel to FIU by some 40 colleagues from Cuba.

A long tradition of sponsorship of lectures, seminars, cultural events, book presentations, and symposia attended by faculty, students, and the community.

ATTACHMENT B

Sources on the Cuban Community in Miami

SOURCES ON THE CUBAN COMMUNITY IN MIAMI

Bettinger-López, Caroline

2000 *Cuban-Jewish Journeys: Searching for Identity, Home, and History in Miami*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Boswell, Thomas D. and James R. Curtis

1984 *The Cuban-American Experience: Culture, Images and Perspectives*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allenheld.

Castro, Max J.

1992 The Politics of Language in Miami. In Guillermo J. Grenier and Alex Stepick III (eds.), *Miami Now: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change* (pp. 109-132).

Fagen, Richard R., Richard A. Brody, and Thomas J. O'Leary

1968 *Cubans in Exile: Disaffection and the Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

García, María Cristina

- 1996 *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grenier, Guillermo J.

- 1992 The Cuban-American Labor Movement in Dade County: An Emerging Immigrant Working Class. In Guillermo J. Grenier and Alex Stepick III (eds.), *Miami Now: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change* (pp. 133-159).

Grenier, Guillermo J. and Lisandro Pérez

- 1996 Miami Spice: The Ethnic Cauldron Simmers. In Silvia Pedraza and Rubén G. Rumbaut (eds.), *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America* (pp. 360-372). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- 1998 Refugees to Immigrants: The Rise of the Cuban American Community in Miami. In Gregory R. Campbell (ed.), *Many Americas: Critical Perspectives on Race, Racism, and Ethnicity* (pp. 217-229). Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing.

Masud-Piloto, Felix Roberto

- 1988 *With Open Arms: Cuban Migration to the United States*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- 1996 *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Pedraza, Silvia

- 1996 Cuba's Refugees: Manifold Migrations. In Silvia Pedraza and Rubén G. Rumbaut (eds.), *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America* (pp. 263-79). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Pedraza-Bailey, Silvia

- 1985 *Political and Economic Migrants in America: Cubans and Mexicans*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Pérez, Lisandro

- 1986a Cubans in the United States. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 487(September): 126-137.
- 1986b Immigrant Economic Adjustment and Family Organization: The Cuban Success Story Reexamined. *International Migration Review* 20(1): 4-20.
- 1992 Cuban Miami. In Guillermo J. Grenier and Alex Stepick III (eds.), *Miami Now: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change* (pp. 83-108). Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- 1994a Cuban Catholics in the United States. In Jay P. Dolan and Jaime R. Vidal (eds.), *Puerto Rican and Cuban Catholics in the U.S., 1900-1965* (pp. 145-208). Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- 1994b Cuban Families in the United States. In Ronald L. Taylor (ed.), *Minority Families in the United States: A Multicultural*

Perspective (pp. 95-112). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

- 1996 The Households of Children of Immigrants in South Florida: An Exploratory Study of Extended Family Arrangements. In Alejandro Portes (ed.), *The New Second Generation* (pp. 108-118). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- 1999 The End of Exile? A New Era in U.S. Immigration Policy Toward Cuba. In Max J. Castro (ed.), *Free Markets, Open Societies, Closed Borders? Trends in International Migration and Immigration Policy in the Americas* (pp. 197-211). Coral Gables, Florida: North-South Center Press at the University of Miami.
- 2000 De Nueva York a Miami: El desarrollo demográfico de las comunidades cubanas en Estados Unidos. *Revista Encuentro de la Cultura Cubana* 15(Winter): 13-23.
- 2001 Growing Up in Cuban Miami: Immigration, the Enclave, and New Generations. In Rubén G. Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes (eds.) *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America* (pp. 91-125). Berkeley and New York: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation.

Pérez Firmat, Gustavo

- 1994 *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Portes, Alejandro

1969 Dilemmas of a Golden Exile: Integration of Cuban Refugee Families in Milwaukee. *American Sociological Review* 34: 505-18.

1995 Children of Immigrants: Segmented Assimilation and its Determinants. In Alejandro Portes (ed.), *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship* (pp. 248-280). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro and Robert L. Bach

1985 *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Portes, Alejandro and Alex Stepick

1993 *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rieff, David

1987 *Going to Miami: Exiles, Tourists, and Refugees in the New America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Rodríguez Chávez, Ernesto

1999 *Cuban Migration Today*. La Habana: Editorial José Martí.

Stack, John F. Jr. and Christopher L. Warren

1992 The Reform Tradition and Ethnic Politics: Metropolitan Miami Confronts the 1990s. In Guillermo J. Grenier and Alex Stepick III (eds.), *Miami Now: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change* (pp. 160-185). Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Torres, Maria de los Angeles

- 1999 *In the Land of Mirrors: Cuban Exile Politics in the United States*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Triay, Victor Andres

- 1998 *Fleeing Castro: Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
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